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The other objection is that a regular congress meeting at stated periods would not be as useful as special congresses called for specific ends, to which may be sent specialists on the particular matter under consideration. There is a certain plausibility in this objection; but the advantages of a regular organization, which would develop an orderly procedure, study systematically and connectedly the great problems of common interest and have a certain proportion of its members reappointed for several sessions, are so great as far and away to overbalance any advantages that might come from the supposed superior expert service in the special congresses. Furthermore, a regular congress would be sure to draw into its membership enough persons of expert character to deal by committees with any questions before it, just as is done in our national parliaments. The objection that special international congresses will continue to be better than a regular and permanent one runs in the face of all history. The tendency of all the institutions of civilization is to permanence and regularity. The late Lord Chief Justice Russell of Great Britain, in an able address some years ago before the American Bar Association, took the ground that special tribunals of arbitration were better than a permanent one. But the hundred distinguished men who composed the Conference at The Hague, following more closely the lessons of history, were all against his opinion and gave us the permanent court of arbitration. All the reasons advanced in behalf of a permanent court, to take the place of *ad hoc* tribunals, hold for a regular congress as against special ones.

Let me say, as a final word, that this Association, of all others, ought to interest itself in the project of a stated congress as an efficient instrument for securing in the most effective way the ends for which the Association was created and has done its work, namely, the formulation and reform of international law.

Opening Address of Edward Spalikowski, President of the Committee on Organization of the Twelfth Universal Peace Congress.

There are moments when, without appearing chauvinistic, one thinks himself happy in being a citizen of this or that city. Some glory in having seen the light at Paris or at London; others are proud of living in New York or Berlin. As for myself, I am contented with being simply a citizen of Rouen. My reason for this is, Ladies and Gentlemen, because this day marks for the descendants of the Northmen the commencement of a new era still more glorious than the preceding.

Rouen, a magic city for artists and dreamers, — Rouen, thrice blessed because of her situation, her monuments and her history, — seemed to be asleep in the obscurity of the Middle Ages. After having known the intoxication of bloody victories, the triumphs of brute force, her children were living especially upon her past. To-day it is their wish to add a new chapter to her annals. Too much blood had flowed in her half-obscure streets, too many conflagrations kindled by war had lighted up the walls of her churches. There was still wanting in the rich ornaments of the ducal crowns of our abbeys

the humble olive branch. You, my dear colleagues, are to intertwine this symbolic leaf among the trefoils and quincefoils of our graceful columned arches. Rouen had fêted Rollo, had honored Corneille, the savage admirer of the Roman sword, immortalized in the bronze statue, "*Corse aux cheveux plats*," which stands a few steps from here, and had wept over the lot of her sons who had died for the country, whose commemorative columns rise here and there about us. Now it is you, loved masters of the cause of peace, whom she honors; and you also, dear sisters, Sévérine and Robinson, Flammarion, Pognon, Carlier, and Bodin, precious auxiliaries before whom we bow with the respect due to your nobleness of heart.

I feel it my duty still further, as we are entering upon our important deliberations, to address a special greeting to our venerable apostles all present here beside me, who at the same time are taking part here in the triumph of the work for which they have given more than their efforts — I mean life itself. Let me name the Baroness von Suttner, Messrs. Frédéric Passy, Elie Ducommun, Hodgson Pratt, Trueblood, Moscheles, Darby, Houzeau de Lehaie, La Fontaine and Moneta. You have carried on the struggle by both word and pen in each of your countries. The pages which you have written, in which generosity abounds and overflows, have been read and pondered over by people who considered not whether you were Austrian, Swiss, Danish, French, English, Belgian, or Italian. Since your names are grouped together in the minds of your disciples, it is fitting that at this moment we render to you all the same tribute of gratitude and admiration.

You have come together, Ladies and Gentlemen, without doubt, to labor in the common cause of human brotherhood, but attracted likewise by the renown of the ancient capital of Normandy. You were right in this. There was wanting only your presence to cause the disappearance of the last legends and the dissipation of the last misunderstandings. You come to disseminate among the mass of our people the new ideas which make cities more prosperous through the enlargement of the spirit of the inhabitants. You have believed that under the vaults where formerly arose the pæans of victory and cries of hatred against the foreigner, ought to rise a harmonious note in which the voices of the representatives of the nations which were only yesterday enemies should unite in singing with us a hymn to Fraternity.

In your meanderings about old Rouen you will see on the walls of our edifices traces of the revolutions of the past, barbarous mutilations and numberless defacements in the rich stone traceries which shadow the façades of our mysterious old churches. Alas! the hand of man has too often aided the sickle of time. But do not stop before these distressing sights. Regard, rather, in the ancient buildings which still stand, the ruddy and joyous children whose babble cheers the dark apartments, and who will grow up to continue our holy task of peace-making under the ægis of a humanitarian republic, such as has been pictured by the eminent artist who designed the posters announcing this Congress.

Welcome, then, friends from the north, from the east or from the south; you who, forgetting that countries have frontiers, have come to sit down here among us, to prove to us that it is not chimerical to think of arbitra-

tion and of disarmament. Have we not, furthermore, just had the friendly visits of his Majesty Edward VII. and of President Emile Loubet? Are we not on the eve of that of King Victor Emmanuel III. to Paris? Have we not likewise here among us his Highness Prince Albert of Monaco, the Mæcenat of science and of peace, and Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant, the admirable promoter of that cordial friendship which will finally bring about a durable and guaranteed peace among the nations?

Next Sunday the Minister of Commerce, in turn, at our fêtes at Havre, will declare that the time has come when commerce and industry, supported by science and peace, will be able henceforth to receive their proper development, and dispense to the world the treasures promised to man.

Now what city could rejoice over the triumph of the idea of peace more than Rouen, this busy hive of labor around which other colonies of workmen have come and grouped themselves, carrying comfort and well-being all along the silver flood of the Seine. It is through peace that Rouen has been able to realize her proper development. It is through peace also that the United States of Europe will one day rival the United States of America in the greater happiness of their citizens.

It is also through the support of the laboring classes that we are assured of success in this cause. Among our adherents we have had the pleasure of reading the names of groups of workmen, of syndicates, of coöperative societies, of labor exchanges, of numbers of chambers of commerce, which have recently given their support to the project of Mr. Barclay.

At the present moment there is in the thinking and acting world a great expectation, almost a painful suspense. "What is the future to be?" murmurs Europe.

The future? The future belongs to us! The future will be as we make it. I am one of those who believe that the hammer of the smith has already broken the sword of the soldier; that soon muskets will no longer be of any service, except at the parades of official fêtes. Where formerly decisive battles were fought, grow and ripen together wheat and bluets. To-morrow, on the emplacement where now rise bastions and redoubts, the working man, eager for repose, pure air and liberty after the week of toil, will conduct his brave wife in order to pluck there, without fear of gloomy days to come, the flowers of the field and the kiss of love. Let this kiss be the image of the symbolic kiss which labor and peace are to give to each other before blessing the world with prosperity.

In conclusion, let me suggest to you a motto for all men of goodwill: "Down with arms and up with hearts!"

The Anglo-French Arbitration Treaty.

Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant in "Le Matin" of October 20.

Mr. Clemenceau is not easy to satisfy; that is well known. It is not strange that he finds the new Franco-English Treaty incomplete, since this treaty contains many reserves. But is this a reason for denouncing it as a bit of "hypocrisy" and a "mystification"? I shall not be suspected of partiality toward Mr. Delcassé. I have been reproached, on the contrary, for harassing him as long as he took part in the boycott with which the great powers of Europe have tried to injure their work

at The Hague. I can, then, to-day frankly do him justice, and I must congratulate him, since the convention signed at London has as its explicit object the support of the menaced institution.

But this institution is only a germ, an embryo of justice. Mr. Clemenceau wishes something better. So do I. But to reach this, one must begin at the beginning and learn how to wait. Mr. Clemenceau has great intelligence and great courage, but he has never known how to wait. May I be permitted to tell him that that is the secret of his deceptions? He wants complete results or nothing at all. Temporizations, transactions of a partial nature, displease him. In the society of the future which he pictures, men will know neither childhood nor weakness nor ignorance. They will be born full grown, intelligent and strong citizens. There will be harvests of wheat before the blade begins to grow. Oaks a hundred feet high will spring up at a single bound from the acorn. So the new international justice — in spite of our traditions, our misunderstandings, our distrusts, in spite of the inequality of development of the so-called civilized nations — must be organized in completeness at once as if by magic!

If I may be permitted to say so, the demands of Mr. Clemenceau seem to me much more naïve than the credulity of the friends of peace of which he makes sport. This credulity is a form of creative initiative and of creative patience; the rest is only a negative illusion.

"You recognize, do you not," it will be said to me, "that the Hague Court is called to judge only such disputes as are relatively insignificant?" To this I reply that disputes are always disputes. Insignificant or not, they always as they multiply embitter the relations of two countries; and if diplomacy cannot settle them, why allow them to accumulate? This certainly, it seems to me, ought not to be done.

It is true that if "honor" or "independence" or "vital interests" are found to be at stake, arbitration is not considered for the present a possible solution. But how can one expect that two peoples, in the present moral state of society, will, with their eyes closed, submit from day to day, on all imaginable questions, to the judgments of a court which will be recognized only after the lapse of time and which has not yet even had the opportunity to prove its worth? Such a result you will not obtain even from the most insignificant people, and all that we can expect is that these limitations will be interpreted in a more and more generous way; and this will depend more upon public opinion than upon the governments.

It is further true that even in cases in which the governments, animated by a sincere spirit of conciliation, should forget these limitations and submit all their disputes without exception to arbitration, no material sanction would compel the one against which the award was pronounced to comply with it. No physical force could be employed against it. No international police would have authority to compel a powerful state to accept an adverse judgment. That is evident. We do not even know how to prevent the Sultan from violating his solemn engagements, from pillaging and massacring under our eyes those of his subjects whom Europe is pledged to protect. Is that a reason for being discouraged and for doing nothing? No. It is an additional motive for our making every effort to find some means, imperfect though